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378 immediately after his arrival, goes to the husband and to his assembled relatives and tells them roughly: "Here we are; we bring you your dog. Here it is. With us, she was reputed to be a good girl. Now we shall hear you every day say that she is lazy, does not know how to cook, has a host of lovers... All right! Kill her! Kill your dog! Have you not bought it? She is a witch! Let her drink the magic philter, etc." The men keep silent... "Yes, you are right. We shall beat her. But if her husband is too hard on her, we shall try to deliver her. We shall do our best to protect her."

In the meantime the women cut the legs of the shipgame, and fill the pots with water, and the feast goes on, another ox having been killed by the husband. The married pair sit on a mat and the women of the two families begin the mutual exchange of insults which are never wanting on this day! "You dogs!" one of the aunts of the girl will say, "people of no consequence! You have not even a broken pot to remove the ashes from the fireplace. You can congratulate yourselves on getting such a good wife as this, a hard worker, a splendid cook, a nice and honest girl." An old woman of the other party answers: "Yes! If you have exhorted her sufficiently! Perhaps she will give up her bad ways, her laziness, etc..."—"Bad ways? You may well speak of that! Look at your son! What was he? A wild beast! We have come to cut off his tail and make a man of him!"

V. Marriage by abduction.

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379 The ancient ceremonies which we have described belong to the legal marriage (*ku teka, ku lobola*). But there exists another way of getting a wife, and the poor (*pašiwana*), those who have no oxen, no pounds sterling for lobola, especially if they have no energy, have recourse to this method. It is called *ku tlhuba*. A young man in such a position, wishing to marry such and such a girl, will send a friend to her and propose a rendez-vous in the

588 bush. If she agrees to become his wife in this irregular manner,
 583 she goes there and meets him. They have relations together and
 run to one of the relatives of the girl's mother. The family of the
 mother will be more lenient than the family of the father, having
 no right to the lobolo. The transgressors of the law will probably
 choose the village of the maternal uncle and settle there. The
 parents look everywhere for their daughter and try to get her to
 return home. If she is quite determined to remain with her
 ravisher, they let her go free, deploring their misfortune and their
 shame. But it is rare in the primitive state of the tribe for such a
 marriage not to be regularised. The thief, if he has retained any
 feeling of decency, will try to collect the lobolo. One morning
 he goes to the village of his wife's parents, and deposits a sovereign
 or a goat or a cock on the threshold of the hut of the girl's
 mother; or he hangs a half-sovereign on the goat's neck, rubs
 its lips with salt to prevent it from bleating, and then shouts
 loudly: "We have stolen, we of such and such a clan"... People
 wake from their sleep, not knowing what animal has made such
 a noise, come out of their huts and see the culprit standing outside
 the fence. When he has been duly recognised, he runs away.
 He will perhaps bring some other presents till he has definitely
 588 "lobola" his wife. This is called the *nshonshonela*. Should he
 611 not succeed in bringing the regular payment, the first girl born
 597 of that marriage will be the lobolo. "Nwana a ta lobola mamana
 wa kwe": the child will pay for her mother. In law, all the
 children of such a union belong to the girl's family: a man who
 has not lobola has no right of property in his children. (See
 Part III.)

Should the woman who has been stolen by *tlhuba go* at once
 to live with her irregular husband in his village, her parents will
 arrange matters in another way. They will "go as enemies"
 (hi bulala), make a regular descent on the village of the thief,
 kill a pig, threaten to take all the furniture. The men of that
 village will then intercede and, in the course of time, the lobolo
 will be paid. (See App. VIII.)

582 To the Northern clans this is not so repugnant: with them, it is a current saying that bukōwana revives bushaka when bushaka has become weaker in the course of generations (1).

A third reason for these strong taboos, a reason which explains also why the prohibition is stronger on the father's side than on the mother's, is found in the *lobola* custom. Should a woman who is a relative on my father's side become my wife and should our union be put an end to by quarrels, I should go to her father to claim the lobola. If her father happens to possess no oxen to return to me, he will have to go to his relatives to get them... He may have to come to my own father, who is his brother and belongs to the same family, a consequence which would be indeed absurd, because then I should myself pay the debt due to me!

On his wife's side, a man cannot marry the elder sister of his wife, who is mukōwana to him, nor the daughters of his wife's sisters, who are *bana* to him, as we have seen.

II. Marriages conditionally permitted.

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588 In some cases a marriage which ought not to take place may be allowed on condition that the whole family will perform the rite called *dlaya shilongo*. This is a most curious custom, and is found all through the tribe. I know of two cases in which it has been resorted to: a certain Mkili, of the Makaneta sub-clan (Nondwane) wished to marry Minsabula, his makwabu. Both had a common ancestor Muwayi. Muwayi had by a first wife a son called Basana, and by a second wife another son called Nsabula. Basana was the father of Mungobo, father of Mkili, and Nsabula

(1) It is also very much against the feeling of the tribe to confound bukōwana and bukōwana. A man named Filemon had married the daughter of a woman of disolute habits, and the woman had given herself to a man who was the brother of Filemon's maternal grandmother. This man was therefore a malume for Filemon, and his wives were belamo, even bonati, possible wives for him, as he had the right to inherit them (p. 233). For this reason he said: "My wife's mother cannot marry that man, not only because of the Christian law which we have accepted, but also because of our own old customs. Why? Because she is my mother-in-law, my mukōwana, and by her marriage she would become my name and I might inherit her. That is impossible."

582 was the father of Minaabula. Mungobo and Nsabula were first
602 cousins or half first cousins (as their grandmothers, wives of
588 Muwayi, were different). Therefore Mkili was the first cousin
 once removed of Minaabula. Both were ba ka Mkaneta. Another
 case was that of Michel, son of Gana and Nwashiluvane, who
 married Djamela, daughter of Mankhelu, who was Nwashiluvane's
 brother. Mankhelu was the malume of Michel and Djamela was
 his mamana, being the possible wife of Gana (See page 233). For
 a Thonga to marry her malume's daughter, *psa yila*, (See p. 234)
 whilst for a Pedi it is the proper thing. This is one of the great
 differences between the law of the two tribes. A Pedi has a real
 right of pre-emption on his *mudzwala*, whilst amongst the Thongas
 it is the father who possesses that right. (See later on C.) Pos-
 sibly this Pedi custom encouraged Michel to entertain an idea which
 is repulsive to the Thonga mind. But the official *dlaya shilongo*
 took place in his case also.

I tried to discover in what other cases such a prohibited marriage
 was rendered possible by the performance of the rite, and found
 the following.

Conditional marriage is permissible with the daughter of my
 great-uncle, the younger brother of my grandfather; and with the
 daughter of my grandfather by a wife other than my grandmother.
 Both are rarana. According to Mankhelu, it might also take place
 between himself and Shiluvane. This Shiluvane (who is not
 the chief Shiluvane, of course, but an entirely different person), is
 the daughter of the maternal great-uncle of Mankhelu, brother of
 Shidyale, who is his true grandfather, the father of his mother.
 Shiluvane is therefore the first cousin once removed of Mankhelu
 on his mother's side. She is a mamana.

But what is this rite of *dlaya shilongo* which has such power that
 it removes the taboo character of such marriages? *Shilongo*
 or *mulongo* is an archaic word retained only in this expression and
 which corresponds to bushaka, blood relationship. This root
 exists also with that meaning in the Sutho word *seloko*. The rela-
 tion by blood must be killed in order that the relation by marriage
 may be substituted for it.

Let us first see how this is done in the Northern clans.

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A young man who has the courage to think of marrying a near relation is regarded as a wizard. A *lowa*, he bewitches! This term, which is applied only to actual witches, is not too strong to designate his action. He was not allowed to *gangisa* her, and now he wants to take her as his wife! But this word *lowa*, or *loya*, is used here in another sense: "Bushaka byi lowa hi tihomu" (the blood relationship is bewitched by the oxen). "Bumamaga byi lowa" (the mother relationship is bewitched). (Viguet.) Those who consent to such an act must be prayed for publicly and anointed with *psanyi* (the grass found in the bowels of a sacrificed goat.)

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So the young man goes to his uncle, the father of the girl, to announce his intention of marrying her; he must *be homu*, beat an ox, viz. bring an ox with him as a first step to appease his uncle. This ox is said to "open the hut." The ox may be only a goat, the goat which will be used for the sacrifice, — because a religious ceremony is necessary. All the relatives assemble on a certain day in the girl's village. The wedding pair are inside the hut, the goat is killed, the offering prepared, the *psanyi* put aside. Then the bridegroom and the bride are called outside and made to sit on the same mat; the man's leg is passed over the girl's leg; (this is done to "kill the shame" *ku dlaya tingana*); they are both anointed with the green liquid of the *psanyi*; the skin of the goat is then taken, a hole is cut in its middle and it is put on the heads of the two cousins. Through the opening the liver of the animal is handed down to them, quite raw. They must tear it with their teeth. It must not be cut with a knife; this is taboo. They have to bite it, to pull vigorously on both sides so as really to tear it, and then they must eat it. *Shibindji*, liver, means also patience, determination. "You have acted with strong determination! Now eat the liver! Eat it in the full light of day, not in the dark! It will be a *mhamba*, an offering to the gods (Gana)." The priest of the family will then say: "You, our gods, so and so, look! We have done it in the daylight. It has not been done by stealth. Bless them, give them children." Should this sacrifice not be made, misfortune would indeed come upon them and the woman would remain childless. When the prayer is ended, those present take all the solid *psanyi*, put

588 it on the wife's head and say to her: "Go and bear children."
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In the Ronga clans the *dlaya shilongo* is somewhat different. The bridegroom must first give £ 1 to the father; this is over and above the lobolo, of course. Both families provide a goat. These goats are killed without the assistance of the uterine nephews, in front of the hut of the girl's mother. The grandfather prays to the gods of the girl's father: "So be it! They have decided to marry each other; you, gods of the boy and the girl, unite them together so that they do not hate each other; let them not remind each other that they are brother and sister; let their union not be spoilt by such remembrances, nor by other people saying to them: "You have been guilty of witchcraft! You have married your relative!" By this prayer a general notification is given to everybody, and the feeling of shame is removed. Afterwards the officiating relative continues, exhorting the new wife, telling her all that she must do for her husband, mentioning all the details of her conjugal duties with such realism that she begins to cry. The bridegroom bows his head in shame. The preacher goes on till somebody puts a piece of meat into his mouth to stop the exhortation!

The whole country has gathered to see the proceedings and to eat the meat. The wedding pair do not partake of it, because the goats have been sacrificed for them (*ba hahlela bone*). The relatives go home, roasting on the way the joint of meat they have received so as to eat it before reaching their village.

642 The aim of the *dlaya shilongo* is lawfully to kill one kind of relationship and to replace it by another, because the two are not compatible. However, in the case of inheritance of a *rarana*, for instance, when a blood relative has to change his relationship and to become a relative by marriage, he can inherit without any rite being performed, if there is no nearer legal heir; in this case it is said: "Bushaka byi ta pfuka — the blood relationship will be revived." It will be strengthened by the new marriage relationship.

588 In the case of marriage with the great *mukoñwana*, this rite
607 is also performed, as previously mentioned (p. 244). The wedding pair are also covered with the goat's skin. This goat is

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607 called the cat, because it is like a cat which is put on their shoulders and scratches them. It scratches away the bukoñwana which prevented their marriage. (Viguet.) In this case it is the shikoñwana which is killed. So the taboo is removed and they can marry.

III. Marriages permitted.

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618 Relatives from the eighth degree of relationship can marry unconditionally (Mankhelu). The choice of a boy is unlimited within the clan and even within the tribe. However, marriages into a too far distant clan are not recommended, according to Viguet, for the following reasons: 1) If the marriage were unsuccessful, the parents-in-law against whom the claim would be brought might run away with wife and oxen, and we should lose our herd. 2) If our oxen multiplied in the other clan, we might be tempted to go and make war on our parents-in-law in order to appropriate the cattle. So blood would be shed on account of our own oxen! This would bring shame upon us! Whilst if we marry amongst friends, even amongst remote relatives, should a quarrel occur, we shall try to settle it peacefully. These people are amongst those with whom we discuss in the hut. With strangers we discuss outside, on the square, and we occasionally fight with them and drive them away. So a difficulty can better be dealt with when our bukoñwana are people living close by.

IV. Marriages recommended.

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607 Here we must take into account two different cases: some marriages are contracted on account of a kind of right of pre-emption, others on account of a right of inheritance.

1) RIGHT OF PRE-EMPTION.

There are amongst the relatives of a man certain women on whom he has a kind of preferential claim, or a right of pre-emption,

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857 However, specially appointed persons watch over him and report of his well being to his father. His youthful playmates are taught to respect him; he is surrounded in his games by a miniature court, from which he chooses his favourites (tinsekwa); some of his companions act as counsellors and reprimand those who do not treat him with due respect. They play at court... also at soldiers; the juvenile troop wage war with the wasps, and also with the boys of the adjoining villages.

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782 When the child reaches boyhood, the bones are consulted, and sacrifices offered in order to ascertain from the gods whether it be well to take him to the capital. Should the answer be in the negative, there is nothing to do but wait. When the dice declare the propitious moment to have arrived, the transfer is effected and the boy taken to his father. This is a great occasion for the counsellors who have watched over the boy and who thenceforward supervise his education. They feast themselves well (ba fumi-sana), kill goats, perhaps even an ox, and offer a sacrifice to proclaim to the gods the return to the capital of the heir to the throne; to his ankle is tied the astragalus of a slaughtered goat, as a protective amulet.

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836 At puberty the boy undergoes, in the same manner as his companions, all the ceremonial rites usual at that period. The principal doctors of the country treat him, in order that henceforth he may be a man (ba mu yimisa a ba wanuna), having full right to enter into the sexual relations of gangisa (p. 97). Care is taken, however, to attach to his person comrades of riper age, who will prevent him giving way to excesses, (suka banhwanyana la bakulu ba ta mu gema, ba mu sibela ku kula), which would arrest his growth and render him small and feeble. He thus lives in relative continence, participating in the play and in the work of boys of his own age, and looking after the herds. At times he gives a feast, when his father happens to have presented him with an ox with which to make merry.

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595 Now we see him arrived at manhood, at the age when the Blacks take a wife. If his father is still living, the young man is not allowed to marry officially. He may certainly lobola, viz., contract regular marriage in the usual way, and possibly

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595 some woman may come and live with him (titlhuba), as in cases of elopement — in which case he must go, according to the law, early in the morning to the parents of the girl and denounce himself as the abductor (p. 119); but none of these women can be his official wife; they may bear him children, but these will be *makohlwa*, those who have no right to royalty; the young chief may not wed his official wife, she who is to become the mother of the heir to the throne, until after the death of his father.

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595 There is a saying, a precept of the royal code as follows: "Hosi a yi faneli ku bona ntukulu," a chief must never see his grandson, i. e. the one who will eventually succeed his son in the royal line. The Ba-Ngoni of Gungunyana (in Gaza) have the same custom; but with them things are arranged differently. The eldest son of the chief's principal wife, when at the requisite age for marriage, takes a wife and loses the right of succession; it is the youngest son, still young at the time of his father's death, who inherits the throne, because he has no children of his own. This leads to jealousy and civil war between brothers; it has brought numberless misfortunes to the royal family of Gaza, and it was one of the causes of the downfall of Gungunyana. The Thonga custom is much more simple and less dangerous to the maintenance of peace; the chief must not see his grandson, therefore his son will not be officially married until after his father's death. Any wives he may previously have taken will be *morganatic* and their children are not entitled to inherit.

I have been told by Mankhelu that when a chief lives to be very old and does not wish to delay the marriage of his son and heir, he can himself pay the lobolo and acquire, for his son, the official wife who will be considered as being "the wife of the country." But this seems to be an exceptional occurrence.

B. CORONATION OF THE CHIEF.

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766 In all Thonga clans the death of a chief is kept secret for one year or more, as we shall see. Amongst the Nkunas the official mourning for the deceased takes place the same day as the coron-

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609 of the white man. M. Torre do Valle has given a list of nicknames of the merchants and other inhabitants of Lourenço Marques in his *Diccionario Shironga-Portuguez*. It is well worth consulting, and the only thing wanting is a photograph of the white man and an explanation of the name; it would be a splendid illustration of Native wit!

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618 So far we have spoken only of *personal* names and nicknames. But, beside these, every man possesses his clan name, or surname, viz., the name of the first of his known ancestors. Grown up men prefer being addressed by this name, which is *shibongo*, viz. the name by which they are "glorified." This subject is treated in Part III (p. 360).

APPENDIX III (See p. 98)

Unnatural Vice in the Johannesburg Compounds.

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588 In January, 1915 one of my colleagues passing near one of the Johannesburg Compounds, saw a big company of Natives singing and walking in the direction of another Compound where a great dance was taking place. Amongst them there were a number of women. My colleague asked his Native evangelist how it was possible that so many women should be walking about in that part of the world, where the feminine element is very small. The man told him: "They are not women! They are *tinkhontshana*, boys who have placed on their chests the breasts of women carved in wood, and who are going to the dance in order to play the part of women. To-night when they return to their dormitories, their 'husbands' will have to give them 10/, and only on that condition will the *tinkhontshana* remove their breasts and comply with the desire of their husbands." I sent for this evangelist who knew everything about the inner life of the Compounds and asked him about it; this is the information I received:

Unnatural vice (*bukhontshana*) has become a regular institution in the Compounds. The word *nkhontshana* seems to come from the Ngoni, a Zulu dialect spoken in the Limpopo plain. The *nkhontshana* is the boy used by another man to satisfy his lust, and the man is called his *nuna*, husband. When a gang of new workers arrives in a Compound, the Native *induna*, who has the supervision of the Compound, and the Native policemen, who have their rooms at the

838 entrance of the yard, come and "humutsha" i. e. make proposals to the
 548 younger ones, not only to little boys (there are only a few of these) but
 588 also to boys up to the age of twenty and more. If these lads consent
 to become their bakhontshana, they will be treated with greater kindness
 than the others. Their husbands will give them 10/ to woo them
 (buta) and will choose for them easy occupations, as, for instance,
 sweeping the dormitories, whilst the others will have to go to the hard
 underground work. Those who have not been chosen on their arrival
 by the policemen will probably receive a similar proposal from their
 older companions in the mine, and these men will then help them in the
 difficult task of "be hole" i. e. digging their hole. But the "husband"
 will have not only to woo this peculiar kind of *nsati* (wife); he must also
lobola her, and a feast sometimes takes place when as much as £ 25 is
 put on the ground, a goat is killed and a real contract made which binds
 the nkfontshana to his master for the whole time he remains in the
 Compounds. The elder brother of the boy will receive the money in
 this disgusting parody of the Bantu marriage.

Sometimes the husband pays his nkfontshana at the end of each
 month as much as £ 1.10 and this represents a big increase in the
 earnings of the boy.

What happens when the contract is broken? The "husband"
 claims the money remitted by him. If the boy refuses to return it the
 matter may be brought before the Compound Manager, who generally
 dismisses the plaintiff, saying: "If the boy does not love you any more,
 let him go."

839 The cause of the evil is not difficult to detect; it is the segregation
 177 of the Native miners in these enormous conglomerations of males, far
 548 from home, far from their wives, a most abnormal condition of life for
 588 men who have always enjoyed the freedom of the African bush. When
 prostitutes were allowed to live near the Compounds, unnatural
 vice was not so common; when they were driven out, bukfontshana at
 once increased enormously, and thus the disappearance of one evil
 brought a new one in its train. On the other hand, my informant
 asserted that Thongas (Matshanganas, as they are called in Johannes-
 burg) had never much frequented the haunts of prostitution, from fear
 of venereal diseases. They preferred a nkfontshana; the danger was
 not so great! As the word nkfontshana comes from the Bilen country,
 the home of the Matshanganas, it might be thought that this vice was
 known and practised amongst Natives before it took on such extensive
 proportions in the Compounds. There is an old Thonga song which

839 says: "You, nkhoontshana, get up, the cocks are crowing, be not
 177 surprised by the rising sun." This song warns the girl who has gone
 548 during the night to sleep in the lao, the boys' hut, that she had better
 588 run away at once lest she should be found in a place where she ought
 not to be. But it is a girl who is 'meant here and not a Johannesburg
 nkhoontshana! No! Greek heathenism knew this refinement of immor-
 ality and indulged in it, but Bantu heathenism, whatever may be its
 corruption, never dreamed of it. Even to-day, though it is said to have
 penetrated into some parts (as in the Maputju country), the Native
 kraal feels a real abhorrence of it. I was told the following story.
 A man, in Bilen, had married a woman; he came to the Rand and took
 his wife's brother as his nkhoontshana. When he returned home, his
 parents-in-law were very angry with him; they gave him back the
 lobolo money and took their daughter from him, saying: "You are a
 hyena! You are a wizard! You might as well sin with your mother-
 in-law!" — Unnatural vice was taught to the South African Bantus by
 839 men of a foreign race; it first invaded the prisons; now it is raging in
 177 these big Native miners' settlements, where it is deflowering the Bantu
 youth. For if it does not immediately destroy their physical strength,
 this perversion of one of the most essential functions of man corrupts
 the sources of moral stamina and endangers the foundations of Bantu
 social life.

Is there no remedy for this terrible evil?

The worst aspect of the situation is that the immense majority of the
 Natives themselves do not consider this sin as of any importance
 at all. They speak of it with laughter. I was told that it is severely
 839 prohibited by law and that any boy found guilty of bukhontshana is
 684 condemned to twelve months' imprisonment. But it is extremely
 548 difficult to bring the evidence necessary for conviction. The indunas
 and Native policemen enter into a conspiracy of silence, being them-
 selves the first and greatest sinners in this respect. Happily the Mission
 is fighting the evil as energetically as possible and the Compound
 Managers help its agents to secure separate dormitories, where a certain
 number of boys can find a refuge against contamination. A few
 hundreds or thousands escape in this way, but what is that in comparison
 with the tens of thousands who are exposed to this frightful temptation
 in the Compounds fittingly spoken of, by a wise South African
 statesman, as the University of crime?

839 My informant, who was perfectly acquainted with the circumstances
 548 of life in the Compounds, mentioned the following measures which he